RED & BLACK

AN ANARCHIST JOURNAL.....19

RED & BLACK

No 19 WINTER 1989

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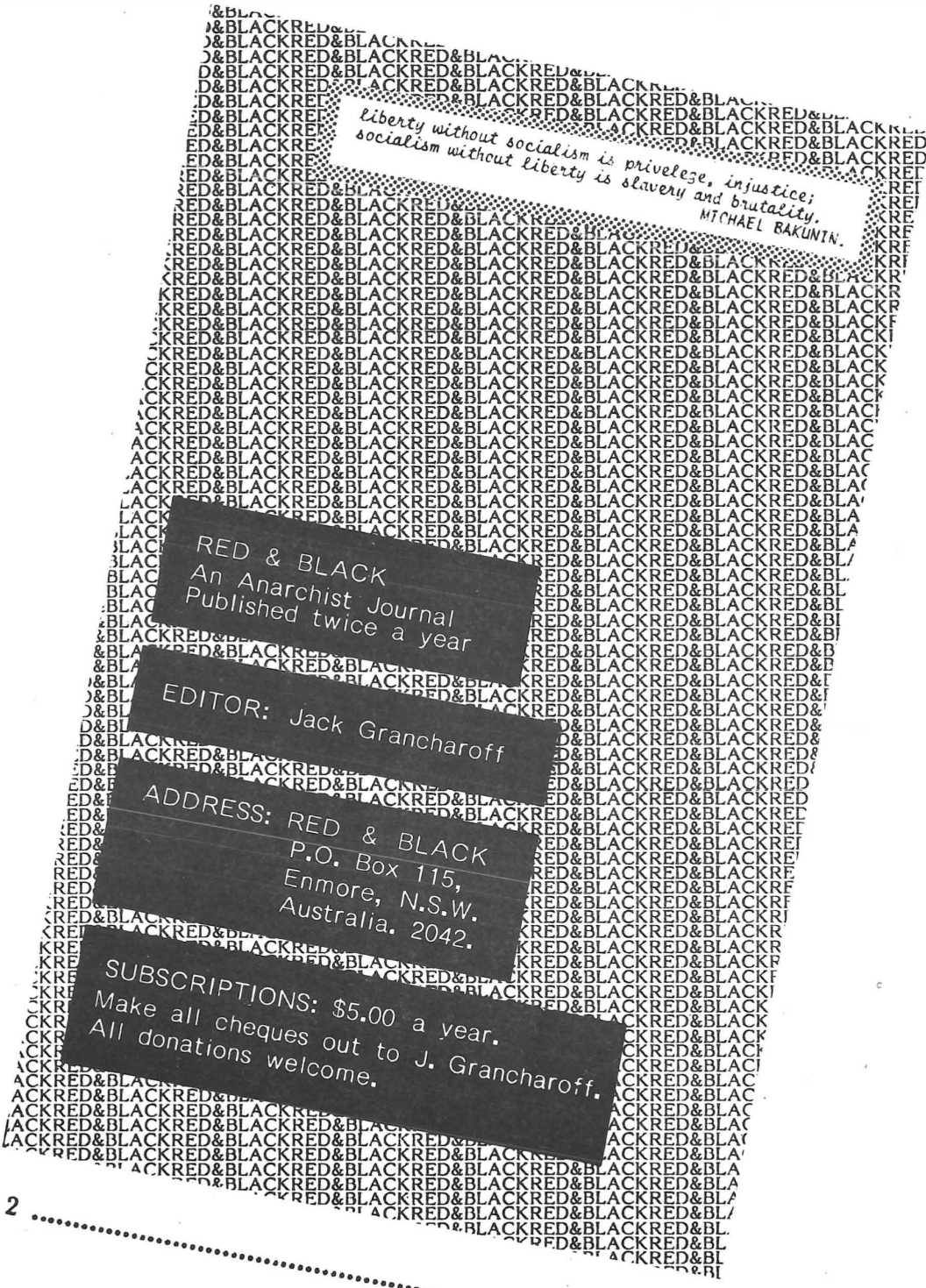

liberty without socialism is priveleze, injustice;
socialism without liberty is slavery and brutality.
MICHAEL BAKUNIN.
RED & BLACK
An Anarchist Journal
Published twice a year
EDITOR: Jack Grancharoff
ADDRESS: RED & BLACK
P.O. Box 115,
Enmore, N.S.W.
Australia. 2042.
SUBSCRIPTIONS: $5.00 a year.
Make all cheques out to J. Grancharoff.
All donations welcome.

DEAR FRIENDS.....(INSTEAD OF AN EDITORIAL)

DEAR SOCIALIST SISTER

It was not socialism that conquered the state but the state that conquered socialism. Your socialist realism is a hybrid of fascism and authoritarian communism, contrived by Lenin, perfected by Stalin, defended by Zhdanov, conferring benefits to a class of parasites, mentors of the bourgeoisie - the decadent vanguard. Your communism is Jacobinism par excellence, Spartan by discipline and the culture of barracks.

Socialism, etymologically, does not mean the straight jacket capitalism as practiced by you, rather it means the socialized, not nationalized, means of production and distribution. Society not the party, decentralization not centralization, co-operation not competition, are the central core of socialism. To equate socialist praxis with emulation, hierarchies, grinding poverty of the workers, subservient citizens and perpetual exploitation is a mental expression of the deformed minds of vainglorious solipsists - the professional revolutionaries.

In the west we are not short of such products but our propaganda machine is sophisticated, suave, perfect and smooth: not vulgar like yours. The carrot in front of the donkey appears to us as a privilege not as an obvious deception as it is in the your case. You have no choice, we do have. That's why we consider ourselves lucky and responsible citizens, naturally, in inverted commas. We choose always the same alternative: to be ridden by politicians, manipulated by the press and exploited by private capitalism, unlike you who are exploited by state capitalism.

Your vote is deprecatory, ours a dull and futile exercise. In both cases it is a manoeuvre to legitimize the regime. We are forced to be free, you - to be socialists. A compulsory vote is a democratic privilege for us, a

socialist duty for you. We use our democratic right to rob ourselves of our rithts, to increase our duties and obligations and to sunction exploitation and oppression. While you are pragmatical cynics, we are proud citizens because we nurture the illusion that our vote is an important decision. As a matter of fact the boudoirs of power are impenetrable fortresses, byond the reach of the people, even if their stinking emanations are considered to be the oxygen of the slaves, otherwise known as free citizens. We live in an open society with secret decision making.

Why do you envy our democracy so much? It is a system that allows people to read because they lack the faculty to choose. Well, you are enslaved by dictates, we by the servile state. Your chains have a brutal face, ours are invisible.

Your society is a death trap. Therefore, you do not suffer from the infamous death instinct and so Freud is on the index. We, victims of masochistic fantasies and the pleasure-principle need psychological treatment to prevent us from relapsing into death oriented tendencies. You have created the socialist person, a species that does not think but obeys and acts for the party -the one thinking being. We do not need thinking because we have the professionals to do the job for us. You have a contempt for dialectical thinking because it is identified with historical (non)-materialism. We build it into a social science study. We think a la dialectics: socialist in theory -capitalist in practice. On the other hand, you deny the thesis -dialectics- and crave for its antithesis, capitalism±

Everyone that criticise you is a fascist or a capitalist stooge, everyone who criticises us is called a commo. In both cases the defence mechanism works and our societies are spared the trouble of being changed. Nonetheless, the real fascists do occupy real power in our hierarchical societies as guardians of law and order and state security forces. We are spied upon, our movemts checked and our thoughts watched in order that we are assured freedoms and choices that are sanctioned for us. To guarantee freedom in our case and socialism in yours, all means are permissible: fascism and fascist tactics. The Jesuits have taught us a great lesson.

See, my sister, your equality is guaranteed because you are a society of unequals. We are guaranteed equal opportunities because our opportunities are unequal, especially if you happened to be the caste of under-dogs. You are emotionally crippled by the lacks of possibilities, we by the mythology of choices. To make sure that

every thing functions properly you are guarded by the people's army which shoots at people. We,by our army that theoretically protect us from outsiders but in practice uses counter-insergency in case the poor, the hungry and the exploited decide to rebel.

If your system is rotten and decadent so is ours.Neither is interested in human emancipation, liberation or individual and social well-being. The would-be rebels are seduced by pecuniary rewards and power; the particular is submerged to the general; the intellect -to everyday's banalities.

Yet paradoxically you look at the West as a saviour, as a source of welbeing and of freedom. You have bourgeois cravings for the commodities displyed in the shpos, but you never seem to realise the enormous price that humanity pays to satisfy rapacious capitalism: destruction of echology, raping of natural resources, committing crimes against people and genocides. In fact we undermine our own existence to enrich the pockets of a few.

Well my sister, as an anarchist I cannot side with your or the capitalist's camp. If I am to cross the Rubicon, it will be to destroy the state as an institution, society as a class relationship, the nation as divisive, hierarchies as oppressive, subservience as humilation, economic privileges as sources of misery,vertical structures as forms of domination, and hate as a counter-productive emotional laggage bestowed on us by an irrational, national, racial and religious state education. I have to negate both: socialism and capitalism that have forgotten the human being and by trying to build economic miracles have created abject poverty and economic hell, enslaved the human spirit, nailed freedom and reduced individual expansion to the private ward.

Violence and Anarchy

Violence is the graveyard of revolutions. It is not a strategy for emancipation but a recipe for enslavement. It never enhances the revolutionary consciousnes of the masses, rather, it makes the latter an appendage to the will of a vanguard. Thus, governments win and revolutions lose because violence is government, domination and imposition and, therefore, any violence is supportive of governments and would-be governments. The only violence, if it is violence, is the last violence -The Social Revolution- to end violence. This does not imply bombs but a revolutionary awareness where consciousness is not dominated by governments and vanguards but is an authentic expression of the people themselves. Here force is not required but clear ideas of what are social changes about, what characterizes libertarian alternatives and what are the distinctive features of anti-hierarchical behaviour. The Social Revolution is perceived as the final act which will terminate, once and for ever, the statist-authoritarian society. That some anarchists conceal themselves behind the myth of violence and evoke the Nechaev ethics of professional revolutionaries is nothing new, but, they lack libertarian perspectives and their tactics are Leninist. The following article throws some light on this issue. (It is a reprint from Open Road, Winter 1988. Open Road,Box 6135,station G. Vancouver.B.C. Canada. V6R 4G5)

The article entitled "The Politics of Bombs" in Open Road No22 (Spring 1988), is a forceful argument for the use of guerrilla struggle to further the anarchist cause. Unfortunately, its strength lies in the use of half-truths and half-baked ideas. Because the article makes an emo tional appeal that flies in the face of logic, history and anarchist philosophy, it must be critiqued in the harshest terms. To ignore the article or to pretend that its opinions should be given serious consideration would be irresponsible. Those who are serious about creating an anarchist movement cannot allow such faulty reasoning to go unchallenged.

What is the matter with advocating the so¬called revo lutionary violence outlined in "Bombs"? The author suggests two answers: that "the time is not right and therefore armed resistance is elitist," and that "armed resistance brings down repression on legitimate left organizations and individuals." It is significant that the writer does not attmpt to argue against the first position. Instead s/he delivers a diverting chat on the increased surveillance and repressive capabilities of the state, suggesting that if we do not act now, it will soon be too late. But let us examine the criticism more fully, for it contains much that is the essence of the anarchist position. As anarchists, our goal is a society free from exploitation and hierarchy. Since those who benefit from the present system cannot be expected to give up their privilege without a struggle, we assume a revolution will be necessary. If we were MarxistLeninists, we would argue that a vanguard will be necessary to lead and make the revolution, and we would argue for a coup d'etat. But to be an anarchist is to believe in different kind of revolution, the social revolution. This is a revolution made by the great majority of society, not a handful of conspirators. But we are a tiny minority. Most people do not even know what anarchism means. Because the society at large does not understand or support anarchism, those who want to start guerrilla warfare do not represent the people. They represent themselves; that is to say, they are an elitist vanguard. Because people have not been convinced, through education and their own experience, that anarchism is desirable, they cannot interpret terrorist activities in the way guerrillas would like. They judge events by the way they affect their own lives right now. The violence of the guerrilla is seen as a personal attack on things and ideas they hold important; therefore, the action often push them to support increased repression. The self-proclaimed advanced wing of the revolution appears to be little more than yet another groups of thugs out to make life more difficult for the "common" man and woman.

This perception may be more accurate than it seems. Examine the rhetoric of any guerrilla group. It is usually filled with patronizing contempt for those who have yet to achieve the "correct" consciousness, as defined by the vanguard. It is always written in leftoid jargon- that is, it's written in code, decipherable only by those who possess the key. So the guerrillas not only fail to understand those they claim to want to help, they fail utterly to communicate with them This failure comes directly from the mistaken notion that violence can be used to awaken the slumbering populace, which will then magically endorse the programme of the vanguard.

Is more proof meeded to support the argument that the guerrillas are elitist? If so, examine all the authorities quoted in "Bombs" (and let's not forget such appeals to authorities are distinctly unanarchistic). Save for a few quotes on a different topic from Direct Action, every other statement is from a self-professed Marxist--Leninist group or person. Marighella, the Tupamaros, George Jackson, the Red Army Fraction, Che Guevara - not one was ever an anarchist. This shouldn't comes as a surprise, for the call for guerrilla action in the midst of a distinctly unanarchistic society is a call for a vanguard. The time for violence comes when the people of a society have decided they no longer wish to live under the domination of rulers and bosses. When this happens, we don't need the vanguard to emerge from the underground and show us the way: we'll make our own way. In the meantime, can we honestly say that such a time has arrived? If you think it has, reflect on the daily papers, the political debates, and the strength of the right wing, and consider just what the average person thinks about the benefits of anarchism.

What is the real effect of the guerrilla in our society? First, the vanguard violence alienates more people than it attracts. This alone is sufficient reason to abandon it as a tactic. Second, as the author of "Bombs" suggests, it does bring increased repression down on the anarchist movement. This is much more important than the author would admit. S/he dismissess the importance of increased repression by arguing that since the state is busy repressing people anyway, a little more shouldn't matter. But this line of argument fails to recognize the important differences between forms of government. All are bad,but some are worse than others. The armed repression brought on by elitist violence makes it harder for us to reach people, harder to put out literature, harder even to function in our day-to-day lives. It drives out those who may be interested in anarchism but are not committed enough to stand up to being hounded by the police. Increased repression makes our lives and work harder. What does it do to forward the revolution? Is there something to be gained that outweighs the cost? None. We've seen time and time again that vanguard violence and increased repression do not mobilize the masses. More often, it does not strike a responsive chord in the hearts of people; it frightens them, and they turn to the state for protection. Why else does the state pay agents provocateur? Not to "drive a wedge between the legal movement and the guerrilla," as "Bombs" would have it, but to mobilize popular support for increased repression and to discredit anarchism by equating it with mindless, random violence. This allows the state to take the high

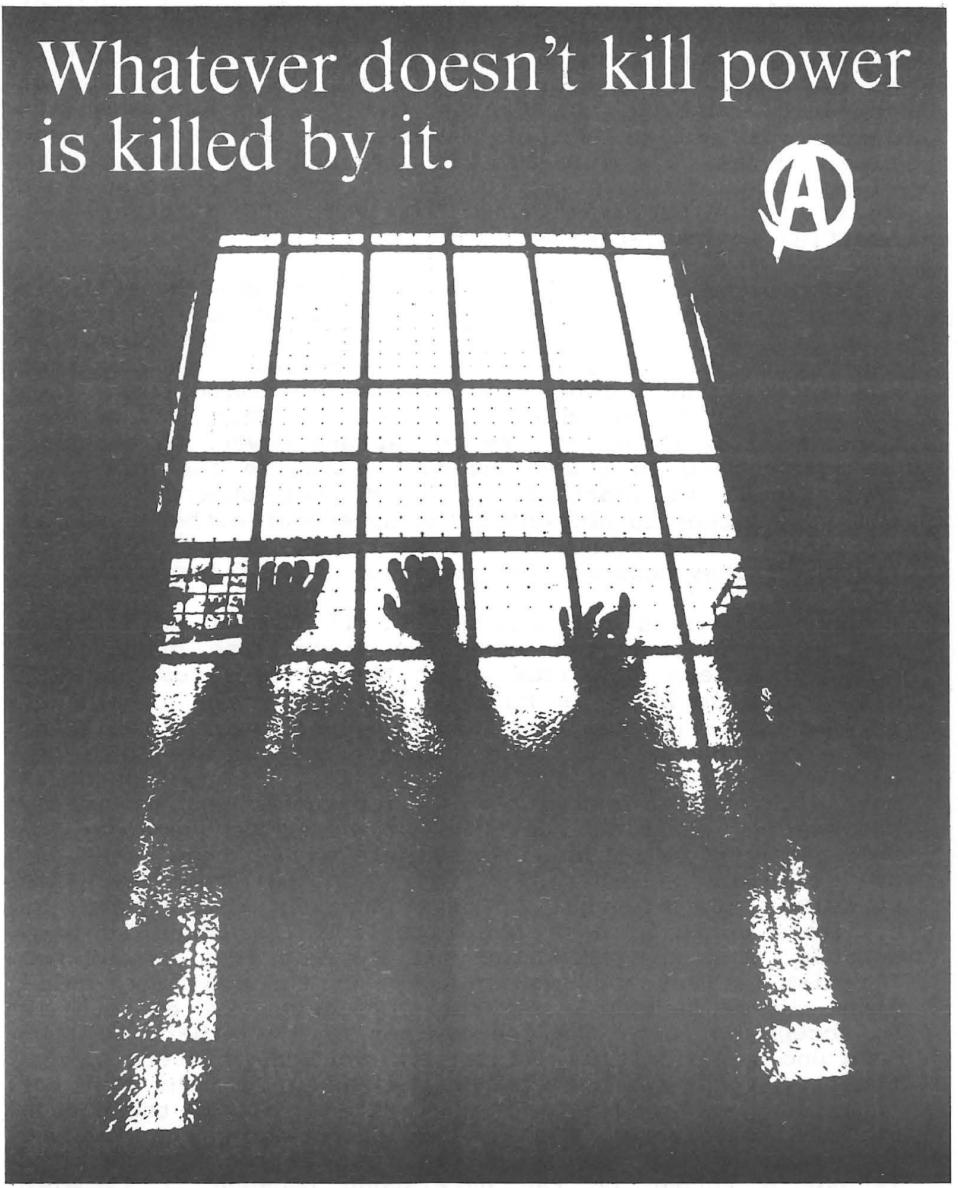
moral ground and claim that the government and the police stand for peace, for safety, for the end to arbitrary violence. It's not true, of course, but given state control of education and the media, most people at this time would rather trust the authorities than a handful of self-announced liberators. This makes a certain amount of sense, for at least in theory the authorities are accountable, but the vanguard is not. Guerrilla violence is great propaganda all right, great for the state. The point is not that the "legal" left should busy itself to justify and explain the violence of the guerrrilla. The point is until the people themselves choose revolution, all of our attmpts to explain the bombings and the kidnappings are doomed. When they do see the need for it, we won't need to explain, interpret, or justify it.

What does the history of the anarchist movement tell us about the use of vanguardist violence? This sort of thing has been advocated several times in the history of the movement, but it has never made the revolution and it has never advanced the cause of anarchism. Without fail, every anarchist who argued for the attentat or propaganda by the deed (that is, those who managed to avoid getting arrested or blowing themselves up), repudiated violence later, for one very good reason: it doesn't work. The Russian terrorist group known as Narodnya Volya, or the People's Will (often mistakenly referred to as the Nihilists), was a very successful action group. It even managed to obtain its primary objective, when in 1881 it blew up the czar. But to the group's surprise, the people did not rise up in arms, the regime did not crumble, and their goal of liberalism by the bomb failed. Ravachol, who covered his personal acquisitiveness with a patina of anarchist slogans, did not make the revolution, despite blowing up a goodly number of banks and a judge. Emile Henry, essentially a nineteenth century Hinkley, blew up people and things to impress his would-be lady-love, and failed notably to mobilize the masses. The Haymarket bomb of 1886, whether thrown by an anarchist or a police agent, had the effect of justifying in the public mind a red-hunt that crushed the anarchist movement in the United States. Alexander Berkman's attempt to murder Henry Clay Frick in 1892 at Homestead got him fourteen years in jail. Because Berkman acted in isolation from the workers he sought to help, his assassination attempt was widely regarded as an outrage, even though the same workers had just used arms to defend themselves from company gun thugs. Berkman himself later concluded that propaganda by the deed was futile. In 1901, the anarchist Leon Czolgosz killed the American president. The result? Another red-hunt that finished off what was

left of the anarchist movement and turned it into a sect. In Spain in the 1910s and 1920s, the anarchists turned to a policy of assassinating employers and capitalists. There were two significant results: capitalists started murdering labour leaders and anarchists, and the anarchist organizations became havens for professional criminals who were indistinguishable from American mobsters. Compare this with the success of the anarchist Peasant Insurgent Army in the Ukraine from 1918 to 1921. or the anarchist militias in the Spanish Civil War. Both were effective because they flowed directly from the needs and desires of the mass of people. This revolutionary violence, and the skills necessary to carry it out, were not the result of a vanguard but of years of propaganda, organization, and education. Jump forward to the activities of the various guerrilla groups of our time (none of whic, incidentally, were anarchist). Just how have the bombings, the kidnappings, the murders committed by the Symbionese Liberation Front, Baader-Meinhof, the Weather Underground, the assorted Red Brigades, furthered the revolution? The Palestine Liberation Organization has been carrying out all sorts of guerrilla activities for twenty-five years, but the spontaneous organization of West Bank Palestinians has done more for their cause than all the hijackings and bombings of the PLO (which has yet, it should be noted, to even capture a single Israeli tank).

Every radical group that is in the minority has a real problem when it comes to generating support. We have two ways to deal with the so-called apathy of the masses. We can decry their "lack of consciousness," treat them with contmpt, and determine to force the revolution with a guerrilla vanguard. Or we can understand the consciousness as it ixists, build on its anti-authoritarian, anti--capitalist, anti-statist elements (which exist in plenty), and try to show how and why we are anarchists and show how anarchism would benefit humanity. The first alternative is elitist and hierarchical; the second is anarchistic.

It may be argued that I have expected too much from guerrilla activity, that no one really expects it to make the revolution, that it has very different objectives. It is often argued, for example, that the murdering of high-ranking officials and the destruction of property is an act of revenge, or way of inspiring fear in the oppressor, or a way to draw attention to injustice. The author of 'Bombs", for example, eloquently makes the case for revenge:"the guerrilla is the revolutionary expression of our rage in the face of a seemingly monolithic and untouchable enemy." But what does it mean when we allow our rage to provoke us into irrational,


Whatever doesn't kill power
is killed by it.

ally create the same bad kinds of dynamics that men create when they hold themselves to be superior (ibid.p.37)."Instead of fighting hierarchy the movement "..developed hierarchies of womanliness which gave some people distinct powers over other people (ibid.p38)" The movement also highlights our fear to face our and other's realities at an equal level, our fear to affront the reality of immediate perceptions. Facing the reality of immediate perceptions is an act of involvement and, at the same time, an act to change that reality and imprint our individual consciousness on it. It is the realization that we are in a permanent flux: the same and diffrent, not ossified in immutable concepts.

Consciousness to alter reality for self-benefit is a prerequisite for liberation, but it is not identicaql with liberation. If self remains rooted in the bourgeois reality of aggression, elitism, hierarchical evaluations and individuation that uses others as commodities, then the self has no claim to be liberated. This is the consciousness of those who try to capture power, to conquer, to participate in power and to centralize the movement. They negate the partiarchy but do not supercede archy and, thus, they do not enter the sphere of either personal or social liberation. On the contrary, having supported the state they support the demise of thier own movement.

Emancipation is not liberation. If 60% of politicians are women it does not make the state less oppressive, capitalism less exploitative or the sisters less submissive. What feminism is here to the patriarchy is similar to what socialism has been to the bourgeoisie: solidifying and strengthening it. Some sisters collaborate with the patriarchy to co-opt feminism into it. "..Consciousnes..-must alter to fit changing realities rather than to merely rationalize changing realities in order to preserve itself. It must be rational verifiable rather than irrational 'religious' (ibid.p.51)." The fact that some feminists perceive the universal spirit, whatever that means, as a female demiurge and then ritualize its power in moon worship, does not make the sun any the less bright nor feminism radiant and emancipatory. On the contrary, religion claims sacrifice of the intellect. To believe is to accept on faith the conclusions of the other, to forsake one's own critical faculties. Here the sisters pledge fidelity to a suffocating Utopia which, in the name of creativity, suppresses real desires and empties the person of real substance. The controlled sisters are reduced to impotence and the movement marginalized. As such it is not a threat to the patriarchy because it is also hierarchically organized.

Some feminist alternatives are not of modern origin. Abstaining from marriage and animal food were urged in antiquity and practiced as "counsel of perfection". Nevertheless, it did not lead to emancipation and liberation but to self-denial and hierarchical affirmations. Thousands of priestesses were in service of the "God of the Universe", or, if you like, in service of universal principles. They craved for heavenly knowledge and to achieve it they renounced child birth as an expression of the flesh. They cared so much for their souls that they refused sexuality, practised purity and adored virginity. But, this army of women, dedicated to a universal principle, in no way advanced the case of liberation. As the nuns of the Catholic Church, they gave their support to the patriarchy, to the principle of oppression.

What I want to stress here is that the various forces who oppose patriarchy are supporting it consciously or by default. One should attack capitalism for being capitalism and not for being dominated by males. It will still be capitalism if it is dominated by females. Patriarchy should be opposed not because it expresses maleness but because it is an oppressive institution, because it divides, classifies,categorizes individuals within the family and also socially, because it is reproduction of capitalist society. To attack male domination is a necessary but not a sufficient act, if liberation is to follow. We have to negate the ruler in us. We have to recuperate free love, locality, community, individuality, equality and freedom. We have to organize horizontaly, to stress the images of liberation: pluralistic and federalistic.

Liberation is not a topographical game of conquest, not a war strategy between phallocracy and clitorocracy. It is a revolutionary act of rebellion which challanges the conventions of authority: its order, structure, philosophical thinking, its mode of relating, of doing.It defies patriarchy and hierarchy and does not participate in them as a temporary option, it rejects them completely. Its language is frank, open and straight without deception and ideological seductions.

To justify sororocrats' hunger for power as a temporary phenomenon is to fail to see the historical lesson of the various oligarchies and their logical tendency towards permanency. It is the temporarity of claims that universalizes domination, that disciplines sororities, that foils the genuine revolutionary consciousness among the sisters and prevents dissent and rebellion. Here again, feminism has failed as a revolutionary alternative. Instead it has been bogged down in the game between two

potential enemies of the revolution: phallocrats and clitorocrats.

LEFTISM.

The left, in general, is not an alternative to the bourgeoisie. Its own ideology is an expression of the views of the radical bourgeois wing. The left is for the state, as an agent of revolutionary changes, no more than embodiment of the absolute spirit, the synthesis of the bourgeoisie. Dialectics, in the final analysis, stopped here as Christ stopped at Eboli. It has not produced the anti-thesis: the civil classless society. Instead the left materialized the totalitarian concept of the state, of the proletariat as a conscripted army and militarized society. It has provided the weapon of subservience, the state used it and the proletariat ended in slavery. Thus leftism as a tool robbed the proletariat of its revolutionary potential. Dialectics has become a science of manipulation: the bourgeois state was the thesis and the proletarian state the anti-thesis. In fact both are an expression of the same substance different in appearance and name but referring to the same reality.

The leftist doctrine was an ideology of subjugation of the proletariat. The dialectic of contradictions served to justify the poverty of the masses and the privileges of the vanguard. The intellectual was the carrier of the revolutionary cosciousness, while the proletariat was its passive recipient, with tragic consequences that the reality of the latter was ignored. If dialectics "..is the assertion that real changes are due not to factors outside reality and imposed upon it, but to factors, within reality from the start and only slightly affected by conditions imposing from without (Op.Cit. p.56)" then the theory of infantile disorder as well as that of the vanguard was wrong. What Lenin had in mind is that the proletarian consciousness was undesirable for the new state and the already established rulers and their privileges. The revolutionary consciousness was declared an infantile disorder and, as a consequence, those who possessed it had to be cured. Here again the victims were not chosen because of their sexuality but because of their revolutionary awareness and potential.

The left saved the bourgeoisie from collapsing and dealt the mortal blow to the proletariat as having historical mission to blow the foundations of the bourgeoisie. Thanks to leftism the proletariat has been incorporated into the bourgeois ethos. The liberation of the workers has been delivered into the hands of Lenin, followed by the

harmful activities? It means that we have quite literally lost our senses, that we've abandoned our reason and have allowed our emotions to determine our action. Since we don't rely on reason, we can't assess the consequences. This means we are very likely to undertake tasks that might make us feel good but may directly hurt the cause we want to help. In this case, guerrilla action becomes an expression of neurotic behaviour, that is, the pursuit of objectives by means that actively prevent us from obtaining these objectives. To put it in the slogans of the guerrilla vanguard, while it may be true that "theory without action equals nothing," it is equally true that action without theory means you do something stupid. Revenge is not a political ideology, and those who want to use anarchism to release their rage would be better advised to pound a mattress with a tennis racket.

As for inspiring fear in the oppressors, we must ask two questions: does terror really scare them, and if it does, what are their reactions likely to be? Since the rulers have the army and the police to protect them, they are unlikely to become scared enough to change their policies. On the other hand, scaring people doesn't make them back down or change their minds. When they are under attack and have the power to do so, they fight back. When Czar Alexander II was blown up in 1881, his heir was so scared that he instituted a reign of terror, rescinded liberal reforms, and hanged the assassins. The SLA activists so frightened the American government that it burned them alive. Is this really the response we want to provoke? As for using terrorism to draw attention to injustice, without a broad base of support the vanguard actions will never be understood by those we wish to reach.

There is another argument against guerrilla action, one that is too often ignore. Simply put, underground activity tends to corrupt its practitioners. It does this in a number of ways. First, it established an elite faction that has a special status in the movement. Since the guerrillas must be secretive if they are to survive, they alone decide actions, policies, and ethics. Yet the rest of the movement, in the words of "Bombs," has the 'job" to make the guerrillas' actions "widely known and contextually understood." In other words, the minority will decide policy and the majority will accept it and explain it. This is classic Marxist-Leninist ideology. The underground faction will also require massive support from the legal movement, in the form of money, equipment, papers, safe-houses, emotional support, and propaganda work. This means that a majority works in order to take

care of an elite- capitalism, if you like, in its purest form, based on physical force and the gun, not legal mechanism. And given their special status, their noble choice to go underground for the good of all, their daily jeopardy, how could the guerrillas not come to believe that they deserve this support, deserve the right to decide policy? The anarchist beliefs are founded on the idea that power and privilege corrupt people, even the most egalitarian; that is why we must destroy the institutions and ideologies that give factions power. Yet the guerrillas would have us create new structures that, just coincidenally, give them control. I would not trust myself in such a position, and I certainly won't trust someone else in it either; neither should you.

Second, the lives the guerrillas are forced to lead tend to corrupt them. Their very survival depends on their ability to lie and deceive; they must trust no one; they must guard every word and every action. But it becomes very difficult to limit this behaviour, to discriminate between those one can trust and those one cannot. People in the underground need to become paranoid to function, but this paranoia renders them unfit for relationships with the legal movement. The guerrillas must make decisions and take action on the basis of this paranoia; to protect themselves, they can easily come to advocate absolutely amoral behaviour. Unable to discriminate between friend and foe, they come to perceive any criticism, even that of allies and comrades, as an active threat. Instead of being the "active" wing of the movement, they become mavericks, isolated, tormented, and treacherous. Since humans have an amazing capacity for self-deception, the guerrillas often come to believe that whatever helps them in their underground existence is good; and this can become a defence for the ripping off, even the murder, of their comrades. Does this seem far-fetched? Consider how patriotism and power can combine to produce an Oliver North; how exactly does the guerrilla movement differ? More to the point, read the accounts of people who have been in the underground. Unable to trust anyone, they lose their moral compass. Examine the life of Nechayev, who stole from his friends, blackmailed revolutionary exiles, planted papers on a comrade who disagreed with him and caused his arrest and death, and strangled a member of his circle who quite correctly denounced him as a liar. Look at the Polish group Zmowa Robotnicza, or Workers' Conspiracy, which turned revolutionary violence and appropriations into a means for making themselves wealthy in 1906. In Spain, many of the pistoleros degenerated in vicious, self-serving thugs. Read Bommi Baumann's book, How It Began, to see how living undeground turned good comrades into basket case. To advocate an underground

guerrilla movement is to advocate the creation of a cadre convinced of its right to dictate policy and determine actions without regard to the wishes of the majority. At the same time, this cadre lives in conditions that make it unstable and untrustworthy. This is a program for fascism, not anarchism.

Unlike the hypocritical author of "Bombs," I will not pretend to want to avoid personal attacks or avoid further splits in the movement. Nor do I want to create "a genuine descussion around the experiences of armed resistance." Armed struggle, as presented in "The Politics of Bombs,"is a stupid idea, and it must be opposed. As anarchists, we don't want a movement or a society formed around a vanguard of trigger-happy guerrillas. Let the elitist violence freaks find shelter in the Ku Klux Klan or the Marxist-Leninist sects,not the anarchist movement. We have to stay visible, to work with all kinds of people. We have to earn the respect and trust of people and we must think hard about our tactics and actions; we must try to live responsibly to provide an example. We will never be able to point to the rubble of a destroyed building to prove our revolutionary credentials; we will never have the comforts of self-righteousness and utter faith in our infallibility. We may be assured, however, that we are part of the solution, not part of the problem.

Carter Hill.

DEAR READER,
DUE TO CAUSES BEYOND OUR CONTROL, TO COVER SOME OF OUR EXPENSES, WE ARE FORCED TO APPEAL FOR DONATIONS. FOR THIS PURPOSE "THE RED AND BLACK FUND" HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. PLEASE ADDRESS YOUR DONATIONS TO J. Grancharoff, P.O. Box 115, Enmore, N.S.W. Australia. 2042. BE GENEROUS!

Social Control

Social control implies the division of society into two components: those who are in control and those who are controlled. It would appear that these two components have antagonistic and opposite interests. But this simplistic view is soon dispelled if we look carefully at social relationships.

Even if it is assumed that authoritarian society is a product of conquest, violence and brutal force this in itself is not a sufficient explanation of its general stability. The only plausible explanation to be advanced is that the conqueror has been incorporated into the psyche of the conquered and her/his power ritualized so that instead he/she appears in a different dimension: as a protector, saviour and a benevolent factor. The ritualization of power has been achieved thanks to a class of sycophants: the priestly class, magicians, psychologists, the intellectuals, the forgers of ideologies which rationalize oppression and sanction privileges. The first philosopher appeared as an accomplice of the ruler, inserting order into chaos and hierarchy into order. With her/him came the lawgiver to legitimize domination and social stratification. As a result the ruled and oppressed came to believe that they and their ruler/-oppressor had common interests. And, further, to believe that this state of affairs was a natural phenomenon o-rdained by the divine will. The first patriarch -God- was believed to put order into chaos and thus inserted himself into the social organization where to secure power he divided people hierarchically into categories: superior-inferior;the knowers and the know-nots; workers--intellectuals,etc. This mode of thinking was incorporated into idealistic philosophy where idea is primordial and matter secondary.

Nonetheless, chaos preceded order as a form of social organization. And it cannot be otherwise. It is only in such a kind of organization that there can be possibilities for choices and alternatives. In the world of chaos

Why has the proletariat failed to achieve revolutionary class consciousness? One of the answers is that by giving up direct action, and instead joining political parties, the proletariat made its first fatal move. Secondly, it was conned into believing that consciousness is a matter of outside forces: the bourgeois intelligentsia. The truth is that consciousness cannot be evoked by forces outside of the proletariat, by forces that have different interests. It suited the interests of the bourgeois intelligentsia to dupe the proletariat into believing that the best way to raise their own consciousness was through a revolutionary party lead by a "proletarian" vanguard. However, by definition, a vanguard cannot incorporate proletarian consciousness. The end result has been that the vanguard seized power and consolidated it for its own bourgeois benefits. Instead of raising the consciousness of the proletariat the vanguard promise them terrestrial heaven at the end of history and misery, slavery and submission in the present. Naturally, it was not stated as bluntly as that. Reduced to abject intellectual and emotional poverty the spirit of rebellion was channelled into the service of the power, not of the proletariat but, over the proletariat.The movement towards raising the proletarian consciousness was proscribed, its supporters were jailed and solidarity and common interests destroyed.

Entering the historical arena as a political revolutionary party the proletariat defeated its own purposes as a class and forsook the real class struggle. Accepting power as end and discipline as means the workers were trapped in the bourgeois ethos. They succumbed to leaders who instead of leading them to heaven led them to hell, to social democracy in the service of capitalism. They succumbed to political control, they were germanized, nationalized, centralized and disciplined into a labour army, but a mercenary army of anti-labour forces: the forces of the state, capital and reaction.

The proletariat as a disciplinary party exercised complete social control over the workers. Now, impregnated with the protestant work ethic, and internalizing the exported bourgeois culture that hard work, drudgery, sacrifice and pain are the road to freedom and a classless society, they shun diversity, deviationism and the rebels within their own ranks. The militants who have tried to make the unions a workable proposition for the benefit of the workers have beeen expelled, isolated and, in some countries, jailed and killed. The labour governments have allowed the multi-nationals to reap benefits while persuading the workers to tighten their belts. The workers do not need the bourgeoisie as a controlling force -they

control themselves, they are their own cops, their own judges and their own jailers. Thus, the proletariat as an organization and as a socialist force is in no alternative to capitalism. Instead, subservient to bourgeois ideologies, it facilitates bourgeois hegemony.

FEMINISM

The new feminism, at its inception, exhibited revolutionary characteristics. It considered class analysis insufficient to explain human oppression and so it transcended it and, like anarchists, attacked the bastion of the bourgeoisie: the family, patriarchy and hierarchy. But, instead of extending their revolutionary analysis, they reduced it to the level of personalism and, thus, thwarted their revolutionary sensibilities. Slowly but surely, they were seduced by power. The negator of roles began to play roles to adapt herself to the patriarchy, to the negation. Was it a false consciousness or a coup d'etat by the bourgeois feminists? Was the gender theory an invention to mystify the betrayal and to argue that, since maleness implies certain characteristics which femaleness lacks, therefore woman in power cannot be as bastardly as a man?

Some claim that Thatcher is not a woman, she is a man. But, if gender theory is correct, if maleness and femaleness are inner gender features, then to argue that some men are not men and that some women are not women and to claim to change their characteristics at will, does not hold ground. Thatcher is a woman and like many women longing for power she is doing what power does: dominates, oppresses, militarises society and criminalises and marginalises revolutionary awareness without reference to gender. Power has no gender. The state is not what was proclaimed in the French Revolution: a citizen association, the means to regulate common life and to guarantee the natural rights of citizens. Rather, as Cardinal Richelieu said:"In matters of State's crime the door of pity has to close." The state uses various means of fear and terror to keep citizens under control. Thatcher is doing just that.

In <u>What is to be Undone,</u> Albert argues, quite correctly, that: "Women are...generally oppressed and reticent in company of men until they understand their oppression and start opposing it. Once that occurs, however, the situation alters drastically and so do behaviours."(p.36) And yet the behaviour that has been negated as male has invaded women's ranks. They too "manipulate meetings, degrade opponents, compete amongst themselves, and gener-

straight line, linear thinking and rigidity are possible. In the world of straight lines and rigidity there are no possibilitis of choices, of alternatives,of differentiation and individuation. When chaos was turned into straigt lines, into rigidity it was not done as a result of debate or logical thinking but by tyrannical interference of the human will,mythologized as divine, which could not bear the existence of chaos. Chaos is incompatible with rigidity, with the lines of hierarchies, prohibitions and proscriptions.But, force and authority won and rigidity and order became the operative social forces. The process of establishing order was not as smooth as it may appear to be. Upheavals, massacres, heretics, excommunications and deviationists accompanied it. Nevertheless, it goes from strength to strength and today we have to reckon with a very powerful enemy who has at its disposition a power of destruction never known before.

Why has the rebellion failed? Why have people allowed the bourgeois order to prevail to the point where the alienated individual is duped by scientific magic, longs for a cell with a T.V. screen, takes drugs to enhance pleasure, lives freedom in the world of dreams, takes alcohol as a means of satisfaction, tries meditation for self-mortification, plays sport to have sexual orgasm and creates illusion at the level of consciousness to rationalize her/his own ipotence? Why, in fact, has self created the ethos of self-annihilation?

Perhaps the answer is that the bourgeois order permeates the pores of our existence and controls our social environment to such an extent that any serious alternative to it is virtually nil. The so-called alternatives are mostly opposing forces within the bourgeois order. There is thesis and anti-thesis but both are part of the same dialectic. The anti-thesis does not negate the thesis, instead, it requires the thesis in order to contunue to exist. Thus, for example, there can be no proletarian consciousness without a bourgeois consciousness. Likewise feminism, when defined in terms of anti-patriarchy rather than pro-woman, needs the patriarchy in order to maintain its own identity. Alternatives that define themselves as negations of the bourgeois order are still operating within the concepts allowed by that order. Thus, inevitably they are incorporated. Anarchism, when expressed positively as free consciousness, and thus outside the concepts of the bourgeois order, cannot be incorporated. instead the attempt is made to eliminate it.

An excursion into the world of the various alternatives to the bourgeoisie will indicate that social control

is possible because bourgeois mentality is deeply intrenched within us. The alternatives we propose are authoritarian, rooted in the bourgeoisie itself, supportive of bourgeois institutions such as the state, hierarchy and all archies, of the militarization of society and labour, and of social cultures which have nothing to do with promoting liberation. On the other side anarchism as a real alternative, here and now, is quite insignificant. Today, despite the fact that more people are inclined towards anarchism there is also ambivalence over whether anarchism can be a social alternative. This ambivalence is due to the fact that people cannot supercede the prejudice that no alternative outside the bourgeois order is viable: a mistake committed by all leftists and socialists.

THE PROLETARIAT

A class view of society implies that those who are in control, the bourgeoisie, and those who are controlled, the proletariat, have antagonistic and opposing interests. More than that, this antagonism will, in the final analysis, at the historical arena lead to the demise of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of the proletariat as a class and, at the same time, non-class if it is to establish the classless society. However, such a society cannot eventuate unless the proletariat is aware of its own collective individuality as a class and of its historical mission as a revolutionary force.

Roland Mousnier defines class in the following terms: "A class is formed of those who have the same source of income, who possess wealth or income of the same approximate amount, and who share the same way of life and common interests. A class is complete if it also possessess consciousness of all that is common to its members and carries action in common." (The Peasant Uprising) The same source of income does not imply the same approximate amount due to different remunerations and hierarchizations of salaries.This divides the workers as a class and undermines any common interest they may have had. Instead of standing as a block against the bourgeoisie the workers are more frequently fighting one another rather than the former. Many identify themselves with the employer. To defend their individual interests they become nationalistic, racist and chauvinist within their job territory. Thus, class solidarity evaporates and the proletarian consciousness turns out to be a myth of the past. Internationalism, which was supposed to be one of the features of the proletariat, is now a distinctive bourgeois characteristic. While the bourgeoisie are learning the proletariat stagnate.

tional budget, but which gives them minimal imput on policy decisions or processes. Quota systems regulating canvassers' productivity, rules against deviating from the standard rap, and lack of affirmative action procedures are all blamed for high burnout rate among canvassers. Newlyorganized Wobs claim the money raised by the canvass in high-profile organizations like Greenpeace and the PIRGs often supports immense bureaucracies, amounting to a typically- inefficient "elite" that drains resources unecessarily.

It's long overdue," said one Oregon SANE activist about the canvassers' move. "I don't understand why people who are supposed to be working for social change are so affraid of unions entering their organization." Oregon SANE activists generally supported the unionization, although three Wobbly canvassers -among the most active in the new union -have been fired by the Board of Directors, which alleges they "haven't been doing their job." The canvassers counter that the Board's charges are based on subjective evaluations, pointing out that one of those threatened set a record last summer for earning new memberships. Canvassers have alleged the organization's management acted to intimidate them and union organizers in an effort to block the affiliation.

Contract demands made so far by SANE Wobblies include changing the nature of the canvass, rather than serving as the primary money-maker in the organization, they argue the canvass should be educational and raise only enough money to pay for itself. They demand that management raise its own salary, and allow canvassers to take part in more processes within the organization. To encourage participation by economically disadvantaged, the canvassers are advocating "in-kind" donations for membership -trading volunteer work instead of a large check.

The SANE workers' experience is typical of new IWW shops. As the Portland canvassers struggled with management over issues of high turnover, low pay, no benefits and their lack of input in the organization's policies and procedures, the Seattle Greenpeace canvass shutdown made them aware of the option of unionizing with the IWW. The core canvass group -meeting in secret and worried about reprisals from SANE management -hooked up with a local IWW delegate. But the canvass workers were responsible for organizing themselves; they drew up their own contract demands and bargained with management on their own.

IWW organizers operate independently, receiving no regular financial support from the central office. Yet

in the past year the Wobblies have succeeded in turning out a plethora of leaflets and flyers -"silent agitators. ". Some outreach efforts are more successful than others. In Champaign -Urbana for instance, the IWW recently lost a bid to unionize a shop of pizza deliverers because "they wanted us to come in and do everything," according to the local Wobbly delegate.

IWW activists admit communication and coordination among locals and between delegates can be so lax that organizers in the national office may know of a new union shop before delegates in the local office. But they argue that the complete autonomy given to members also makes the lical branches more accessible and flexible than mainstream unions.

The Stanford decision to break with SEIU and join the Wobblies was a rare event. According to Richard Ellington, a Wobbly delegate in northern California, most two-card members are organized by their trade union, then join the IWW later and make their membership known to fellow workers. "We serve as grassroots members who stand for democracy in direct terms," he said. Admittedly, he added, "It can sometimes cause problems with other union." IWW bylaws prohibit union raiding.

If the Stanford SEIU goes on strike , what kind of support will the IWW-affiliated workers expect from their fellow service employees?"If it were another union besides the IWW -say, if it were the restaurant union local a-gainst SEIU - it's very unlikely that other SEIU locals would support them," Myers said. But, he argued, main-stream union don't work as hard as the IWW in generating solidarity among workers. "That's the whole purpose behind the 'one big union' concept," he said. "When one union is in trouble, everyone would support them."

The Wobblies' effort to rise from the ashes coincides with the recent discovery, in old Bureau of Investigation files housed in the National Archives, of an envelope containing part of legendary IWW activist Joe Hill's cremated remains. When Hill died early in this century, he requested that his ashes be "distributed wherever workers' struggles go on." As it happend, one packet of ashes was seized in a raid on Wobbly headquarters by the Chicago postmaster at a time when the government was looking for subversive materials during World WarI. At a Nov. 18 ceremony at the Archives in Washington, D.C. the ashes were given back to the IWW.

Notes on the I.W.W.

After decades in remission, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) is building up its ranks with a new cadre of "unorganizable" workers -the political working class. In the past year IWW membership hag doubled to about 1,200 in the United States, a comeback notable for its unionization of political canvassers and activists exploited within their own social change organizations

As in its heyday early in this century, the anarcho-syndicalists see their union as a decentralized, yet principled unity of workers -one with no electoral agenda, just a commitment to "direct action" and building worker solidarity into "one big union". It's small, underfunded and somewhat disorganized, but at the IWW's 45th general convention, held Labor Day at the general office in Chicago, reports from delegates showed Wobbly organizers' efforts have yeilded some suprising successes.

For example, IWW affiliation by Seattle,Wa, Greenpeace telephone canvassers in August resulted in the shop's closure by Greenpeace management. But the action prompted Oregon SANE canvassers in Portland, Ore, to organize with the IWW in October -the second-ever successful unionization of canvassers in the United States. Canvassers for Oregon Fair Share followed suit, and the entire Santa Cruz, Calif, Greenpeace chapter is now seeking certification.

Telephone and door-to-door canvassers for the Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs) and Greenpeace, among others, have tried repeatedly to unionize over the years, facing firings and shop closures. The Oregon SANE canvassers opted not to follow the model set by the first unionized canvassers -Massachusetts Fair Share workers who affiliated several years ago with the AFL-CIO.

Although it was a major breakthrough for the "political working class," according to the Northwest IWW organizer Billy Don Robinson, the Massachusetts unionization failed to illicit a sense of solidarity in the industry that could have helped others in their organization efforts. The Pacific Northwest Wobblies plan to circulata a news-

letter among canvassers all over North America, publicizi ng their activities and making information available to potential IWW affiliates.

At about the same time negotiations proceeded with Oregon SANE, field organizers of the Stanford, Calif, Service Employees International Union (SEIU) voted to affiliate with the IWW, choosing the Wobblies as a bargaining agent over their own union. Organizers claim a large part of the Wobbly resurgence is among workers carrying two union cards -one for their regular shop affiliation , and one for the IWW. The Wobs' alternative structure seems to be a breath of fresh air to workers disenchanted with the processes and direction of "mainstream" unions.

The IWW's anarchist framework mandates a 'hierarchy from the bottom up" giving the greatest control of operations to members at the local level. Decisions are made by consensus, membership is open to anyone, and all organizing work is done on a volunteer basis. The IWW operates without an automatic check-off system for collecting its modest $2-per-month dues, and the union permits no closed-shop hiring. "Big management unions use workers as powns," said Brian Myers, an organizer in the national office and former editor of the union monthly newspaper,- The Industrial Worker.

The IWW's resurgence may also be traced to workers' frustration with this past year's electoral politics. Wobblies reject the vote as a form of social cooptation of the masses. They concentrate their efforts on organizing picket lines, helping in soup kitchens and local collectives, and other forms of "direct action." The union promotes solidarity among workers, environmentalists, peace activists and other community sectors. "The narrow concerns of the workers -wages, working conditons- are important," Myers said, "but the health of the planet is also now at stake." The IWW's new slogan:"There are no jobs on a dead planet."

This is why, according to Wobbly organizers, the "gentrification of social change" faced by political canvassers is a key battleground. Such workers -often employed in the name of consumer interests, the envioronment and peace issues - are professionals who make personal contact with tens of thousands of households, but are often exploited and powerless in their own organizations.

Radical activists point to a class stratification characteristic of the canvassing industry that leaves canvass workers responsible for earning the bulk of the organiza-

B.U.G.A. Up

Everyday our visual sensibilities are beseiged by bill-boards -drink, glonk, eat, zitto, smoke-stacks, or cover yourself with glugg and have gorgeous girls oozing all over you like maggots on hot meat. Now these swish up market appeals to what's worst in us all are reasonably apparant in their intentions and, as they percolate through to our sub-concious, with them go's the rider of 'keep your hand on your pocket' as 'they're only in it for the money. However, latterdays a certain set of saints have launched a new advertising campaign, usually superimposed on the "smoke-stacks" or "drink glugg" bill-boards, telling people that they have got it all wrong and what they should be doing is not drinking glugg or smoking stacks and, in actual fact, it's rather BAD to be doing so. Now the first thing that springs to mind when confronted with this style of advertising is 'what are these people selling?'-and this is not immediately apparant, as you can't make money out of getting people to not buy certain varieties of rubbish. However on closer inspection of their product it becomes clear that what these people are marketing is new improved GUILT with all natural ingrediants.

In marketing terms Guilt has been a universal success and has proved popular with all houses that trade in souls and suffering and with independant moralists the world over. Guilt is easily manufactured in all capitalist and state capitalist societies which are over supplied with the raw ingrediants of tension, denial, stress, repression, discipline, boredom, authority etc etc.

Although the product does not yeild excellent financial returns without a 'Church', or other officially recognised form of robbery, it has kept all manner of moralists in business, returning that smug self-satisfied feeling while making everybody else totally miserable - which is what having big lumps of money is all about anyway. To successfully market guilt one has to manipulate an obviously tragic situation so that some innocent bystander

will feel that it's all their fault. A good example of this is the governments anti-litter campaign. The government pumps tons of raw sewrage into the sea, smashes arterial roads through what's left of the cities and poisons the air, begs life-destroying industries and nuclear death ships to set up shop, and pollute the place as much as possible, and blames the collapse of the ecosystem on you dropping that bus ticket on the footpath back in 1982.

Buga up operates in the stress market which is a highly lucrative field in these modern times, with its population bombarded with noise and light day and night, forced to compete, sentenced to meaningless drudgery disguised as work. These keystone commuters are denied useful drugs (medical researchers have proved that a few shotgun blasts at the local police station can do wonders for migraine headaches, and insurrections have cured ulcers in whole socio-economic groupings). Consequently they have to take their prana cut with nicotine and their bacchanalian orgies are rather frigid affairs. These people know that capitalism causes cancer while the moralists confuse cause and effect. It is the tension between what one wants to do and what one is told one must do that it is damaging and it is the defence of their mental health (certainly at some cost to their physical health) that drives people to drink and oral fixatory reasurative techniques.

Rebel Worker

REBEL WORKER is the monthly paper of the A.S.F.-I.W.A.
P.O. Box 92
BROADWAY 2007,
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND
$6.00 a year

OVERSEAS:-
$12(AUS) by AIR
$6(AUS) by seamail.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ETHICS.

In finishing, I ought to sketch their agitation tactics, their mode of propaganda and their polemics against Socialists in general, and especially against us, Anarchists. But courage fails me to undertake this disagreeable task. And then, what use will it be to know how little by little their tactics of legal action and agitation led them to this strange conception of Socialism, which makes them more reactionary in their claims than French Socialist Radicals or simple English Liberals and Radicals? Also, I do not think it of much use to tell in detail how Liebknecht and his friends tried to make Bakunin pass for a Russian government agent; how the same Liebknecht calumniated Domela Nieuwenhuis, treated as charlatans and *agents provocateurs* men of well-known purity of character, like the noble and generous Cafiero; how at last the same Liebknecht published in his paper that Werner, arrested in Berlin for having a clandestine printing press, was *the same who consulted with Hoedel!* No, I will not; I cannot trouble myself with the exploits of all these noble legislators; in what especially concerns Liebknecht, the epithets of "professional calumniator" and "Anarchist eater," which our German friends bestowed on him, suffice.

But two things in their tactics are too characteristic for me not to mention them here. One is their individual ethics; the other their behavior towards revolutionists of other nationalities.

Faithful to Hegel's reactionary metaphysics, which preached that the individual must submit completely to the authority of the State, and that there is no question of individual rights or needs, the publicists and orators of the party preach to the workers that the individual has no significance in history and in society, and that all those who think that individual liberty and the complete satisfaction of physical and moral needs of the individual will be guaranteed in a future society, are utopians. Consequently, the worker must know that he must submit to the orders . . . of whom? Ah! of those two exceptional men, founders of "scientific" Socialism, who have discovered the law of concentration of capital, surplus value, dialectics, Materialism, Monism, the materialist explanation of history, revolutionary tactics by legal means, Communism, with an "army of labor especially for agriculture," etc., etc. The individual in general is of no account, but Marx and Engels are the two exceptions of mankind. Their heirs are also excep-

tions; the Avelings, the Lafargues, as well as their adopted heirs, Liebknecht, Bebel, Auer, Guesde, Plekhanoff, and others. The ignorant workman, the human flock, composed of insignificant nonentities, must submit to and obey all these "superior beings" . . . This is what is called scientific and Social Democratic equality.

And to think that such monstrosities are uttered in a European society that already possesses J. S. work, "On Liberty," and that of Guyau, "Morals Without Sanction Or Obligation;" when modern philosophy, according to Professor Wundt, asks of the individual, not submission, but good will.

The crowning point is their behavior towards revolutionary acts in other countries. Their "Communist Manifesto" said that "Communists act everywhere in harmonious agreement with revolutionists." We know their "harmonious agreement" with the revolutionists of the Paris Commune. Let us see how they behaved towards other revolutionists.

In 1875-76, during the Servian-Bulgarian revolution, when all men sympathized with the insurgents, only Social Democratic organs carried on a propaganda harmful to those who fought for liberty, in assuring workers that the revolution was provoked by Russian Despotism and to the latter's profit. They uttered the same infamous falsehood about the unfortunate Armenian nation massacred by the Turkish army, which is organized and commanded by German officers.*

When our Italian friends organized the insurrection of Benevento in 1877, Social Democrats in Berlin cried out that Cafiero, Malatesta, and their friends—among them was the hero of the Russian revolution, Stepniak—were all *agents provocateurs.* The conduct of these amateur policemen in Berlin was so revolting, that a bourgeois paper observed that Liebknecht & Co. could disapprove the action, but that it was hardly honest to dub as criminal and an *agent provocateur* Cafiero, who, renouncing a brilliant career, sacrificed his immense fortune for the social emancipation of the people.

It was especially towards us Russian revolutionists that their behavior was revolting. From 1876 to 1881, at each revolutionary attempt, at each manifestation of the party of that heroic youth that commanded admiration from the civilized world, these international calumniators, with reactionary rage, uttered the most stupid and the most vulgar abuse.

At first, we Russian exiles, escaped from Siberia and prison, protested in the Socialist press against their attacks; but we soon under-

* The "great" Moltke was its organiser, Holz-Pasha and others are its commanders.

socialist-Mussolini and their synthesis, the national socialist, Hitler. And now it is the mission of the Social-Democracy to keep the proletariat under control.

From the above it is obvious that the so-called left is in fact the right with the exception that the left is more dynamic and capable of socializing the proletariat and reducing it to a state of docility. It has been the left that has married the worker to the tractor, that has introduced Stakhanovism: work more and get less. As it is happening here , in the country of honey and milk, thanks to our labour leaders Keating and Hawke. In the socialist as well as in the capitalist society the human being is reduced to a mechanical body, controlled by the state, unions and bosses. Complete submission to the morality of exploitation and hierarchy is evoked as workers' virtue because it satistfies the person in commnand and inflates the ego of those who are in control. If the revolutionary left, as such, is to exist it has to attempt to build a revolutionary world-view and not prefer one patriarchy, hierarchy, race, government, nation to another, but to destroy them and liberate the revolutionary potential. The function of the left as a social-democracy, as Bolshevism, as socialism to smooth the exploitation of the proletariat, to chain, to exploit, to denigrate, to classify, to genderize and then potspone the personal and social liberation at the end of history is not a revolutionary act, less so an act that encourages revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary alternative.

ANARCHISM.

Of all social movements only anarchists have rejected archy and clearly perceived its fatal role in human liberation. It is not accidental that they put so much emphasis on the role of patriarchy, hierarchy, family and religion. Rejecting the state as an embodiment of the absolute spirit, as a monstrocity that has engulfed the worker, the individual and civil society, they accepted classless and free society as an ideal. Whilist anarchy is the ideal,freedom is here and now issue.The materialization of the ideal begins <u>now,with us.</u> Therefore they started to form communes, collectives, schools, to practice freedom and free love as prerequisites to the future free society-anarchy.

They attacked patriarchy. They attacked religion as the highest conceptualisation of hierarchy and as a political force of oppression. Their atheism disturbed many. The bourgeoisie denounced them as an irresponsible licen-

tious mob or, to use modern language, as libidinariens. The Church saw in them the appearance of anti-Christ and a threat to the decent moral society. The state declared them criminals whose aim was to undermine order. But, the bourgeoisie was not alone. The various socialist parties now armed with the correct scientific tool -historical materialism- denigrated them as petty-bourgeois, deviationists, enemies of the workers'state, servants of the ruling class, at the time when the socialists were not the ruling class yet, and, as the former did, as the criminal fringe.

It is indicative that revolutionary awarenes whose existential import expresses the ideal of liberation, as far as this is possible, is a threat to government and vested interests as well as to those who are trying to be alternative government, alternative hierarchies. Since the logic of power is to oppress and subjugate, it cannot tolerate what it cannot incorporate -free consciousness. The latter has to be eliminated.

For socialists social transformation has to be accomplished by means of the established institutions, for the anarchists - outside such institutions. For the anarchists liberation of the workers is an act of the workers themselves. Therefore, to divide the workers into intellectual and manual, and to ascribe to the former intelligence and lack of it to the latter, is a disservice to the cause of the proletariat as well as to that of human liberation. Factory, school and university are to be one and the same thing. Otherwise, schools, universities and educational institutions are factories of lies, reproducing bourgeois values and the socialization of the people to accept the bourgeois ethos.

Anarchism despite its radical critique of society has not yet gained momentum as radical revolutionary alternative. This is understandable. All the guns of the bourgeoisie and the socialist governments have been directed at Anarchy-Chaos. Also the rebels who lack an authentic revolutionary consciousness are afraid of revolution because it threatens their preconceived authoritarian precepts. Therefore, they try to impose patterns upon such unpalatable reality to bring it into order. To them, chaos is inability to put things in definite relations, which are those of archies. For such revolutionaries chaos lacks organization, or more precisely, such an individual cannot perceive other forms of organizations than those already established. They combat anarchy to manifest their significance, to impose power structures, to establish categories which they can dominate and manipulate and then they refer to them as revolutionary

changes. These revolutionaries are ethnocentric for whom the proletariat is peripheral, perhaps a number, a commodity.

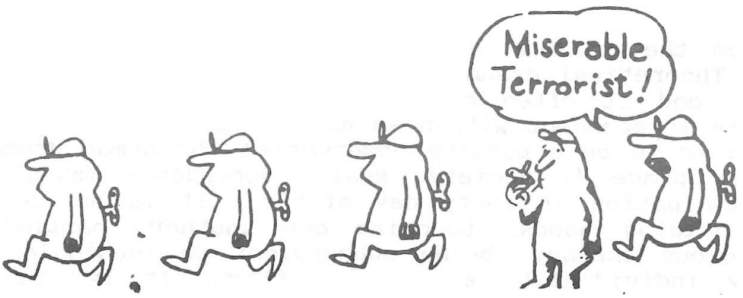
Revolution for anarchism is to supercede the present and its paraphernalia: class, human and other heirarchies. It is not a promise of paradise to catch the victims of misery to participate in their own enslavement but realization of freedom. It is not the materialization of heaven on this earth, but getting rid of the hell in which we find ourselves. It is the breaking of the chains that enchain the minds and bodies of people. It is the here and now praxis of liberation, the here and now assertion of being in libertarian ethics, equality and internationalism.

Now the problem of the anarchist unfolds in front of us. Theoretical assumptions are easy but praxis is difficult and it often contradicts the theory one upholds. To be independent within an authoritarian frame of reference is to be a passive observer of the human drama that takes place in society. Real independence means active participation in every day affairs. It is not a ritual of holding hands, touching one another, participating in group therapy, being subservient to ideologies which deny individuality and waving flags. It is creativity with vision and a painstaking effort to extend the sphere of liberation. It is to give forms and meaning, without fear, to our inner world, to our emotions, to our thoughts and to be reflexive.

Creativity, from an anarchist point of view, is not a confession and revelation of one's inner world, but cultivation of experiences that lead to understanding of the subjective as well as the objective world. It is an act of participation in the objective world, not interpreting it, but changing it in a definite libertarian manner. It does not enclose human activities in moral norms, in service of patriarch or matriarch. The anarchist praxis is difficult because its actuality is not only to deny but to transcend the authoritarian world. But its spontaneous, rational, organizational and personal possibilities are limited in a society anchored in the authoritarian ethos. Also, the anarchist authenticity is difficult to coltivate within a world hierarchically conceptualised.

In conclusion, it might be argued that social control is possible and is growing out of proportion because options to authoritarian society are diminishing in spite of flourishing movements with leftist ideologies. These ideologies, not being anarchistic, are a part and parcel of the bourgeois world. They try to share power and to operate within the precincts of the state. Socialism is a paradigm case. Reduced to an appendage of the state, its experiment failed qua socialism but succeeded as a tool of the bourgeoisie.It disciplined, militarized and conscripted the working class and thus narrowed down any revolutionary alternatives.

Therefore the ability of the state to absorb dissent, to gain the collaboration of labour unions, feminism and other leftist movements implies not only propping up of its image but also lack of real opposition to its social control.



stood that what could harm the Russian revolutionary movement was not their attacks, but their sympathy and co-operation. Those among us Russian Socialists who adopted Social Democratic doctrines, and had Engels, Liebknecht & Co.'s sympathy, immediately became adversaries of the revolution and fought against revolutionists. One of these Russians, highly esteemed and protected by Engels's set, N. Outine, distinguished himself by his exploits against revolutionists and ended by imploring the czar's pardon.

Another favorite of Social Democrats, Plekhanoff, who continues Outine's *sad work*, boasted in his report to the Social Democratic congress of 1891, in Brussels, of having had, he and his friends, "to fight for many years against the different factions who held Bakunin's doctrines" (p. 4).

To state it clearly, the report includes, under the name of "Bakunists," Russian Federalist Communists, who were the instigators of the great movement of propaganda among the workmen and peasants (1873-78), inaugurated the heroic struggle of the executive committee, and founded the famous Socialist Revolutionary party, *Zemlia i Volia* (Land and Liberty). Plekhanoff and his friends, followers of Outine, combated all revolutionary parties. "Observe, citizens," thus writes Plekhanoff, "that it is not only Anarchists we mean by Bakunists. The late P. Thatcheff thought himself a partisan of Blanqui (so he was). He combated Anarchists and carried on polemics with Bakunin himself. . . . It is also the same with the party, *The Will of the People*, led by the celebrated 'Executive Committee'" (p. 5).

In other words, Russian Social Democrats, faithful pupils and imitators of Engels, Liebknecht & Co., combated all factions of the Russian Revolutionary party. It is perfectly true; they fought them! And when? When proverbial stupidity and cruelty reigned in Russia under the name of Alexander III.; when Pobiedonoszeff, that Russian Torquemada, when spies, police and executioners hanged, strangled, and transported to Siberian mines women, sublime in their devotion, men, heroic in their struggle for the social emancipation of the Russian people, when the enlightened and peace loving bourgeoisie admired and glorified the martyrs of Russian Despotism; it is then that the disciples of barracks, and of the army of labor, especially for agriculture, combated them. While our great novelist, Turgenieff, was writing in praise of the modesty and devotion of revolutionary young girls—Plekhanoff was combating them; while the same Turgenieff, on his deathbed, recognized "Russian terrorists (the Executive Committee) as men of great character"; while the American writer George Kennan was publishing his admiration for Alexander III.'s victims, Plekhanoff was combating

them: while "Underground Russia"—that gallery so attractive and life-like of portraits of Russian Revolutionists which we owe to the valorous Stepniak's pen—was read everywhere, in all languages, and honest men of all social conditions sympathized with them, and women, the world over, were touched by these portraits, Plekhanoff was combating them: he was always combating, this courageous Russian Social Democrat. . . .

But what is the most revolting and shameful, is that such a report could be presented, read, and approved of, in a congress of men calling themselves Socialists and Revolutionists.

That is to what an extent the propaganda of Legalism, discipline, subordination, had to demoralize Social Democracy, for it to approve of such dirt!

Not one indignant voice was raised to recall to decency that strange revolutionist. On the contrary, the reporter has become a popular man among Social Democrats on account of this report. Like formerly Outine, shortly before he implored the czar's pardon, Plekhanoff, since his apparition on the scene of Social Democracy in the West, has become a favorite with Engels, Liebknecht & Co. This worthy man declares again in the same report:

"We (Plekhanoff and consorts) can congratulate ourselves now of having swept the ground for scientific Socialism" (Report, p. 4). No, it was not Plekhanoff that swept the ground of all revolutionary factions in Russia. If this sweeping of the ground really took place—which is not proved—the entire glory is due to the great fetish of French patriots, to Alexander III., to his hangmen ministers, to his innumerable spies. . . . I believe even that the reporter triumphed too soon, judging from numerous articles published in Russian newspapers and reviews, judging from the hisses young Russians bestowed on Plekhanoff when honest and generous young people learned the contents of his report—it seems, on the whole, that in Russia itself the ground is not swept for "scientific Socialism," and that the Russian Socialist world has more esteem for "utopians" like Tchernychevsky and his disciples . . than for Engels and Plekhanoff.

Must we blame Russian Socialist society for this preference? According to the definition of Social Democrats, each convinced Socialist, each enlightened friend of humanity, can justly claim the title of an accomplished utopian. In the pamphlet by Plekhanoff, "Anarchism and Socialism," warmly recommended by Mrs. Marx-Aveling, we read in italics:

"Utopian is one who, starting from an abstract principle, seeks for a perfect social organization" (p. 4).

Read that sentence carefully, and you will discover that utopians are men of principle, and that they wish to reorganize present society, based on exploitation, ignorance, and oppression, in order to make out of it a solidary and communistic society, where the individual will have liberty, education, and happiness among his fellow men, likewise, free, enlightened, and happy. I confess to being an utopian. I am even afraid of not being so enough; for I might be suspected of being a man without principles, like Engels and his disciples, and, like them, of being capable of distorting scientific terminology, the conception of Socialism, and, lastly, instead of preaching emancipation and solidarity, of being capable of dishonoring myself so far as to preach the organization of the army of labor, especially of agriculture, discipline, subordination; in a word, Social Democracy. . . .

And you, also, friend and reader, I wish with all my heart that you should always remain a man of principle. Every honest man must have principles, and if this quality belongs to utopians, be a utopian. Say aloud, and repeat without ceasing, that the great utopians—Saint-Simon, Fourier, R. Owen, Tchernychevsky—being men of principle, were at the same time great lovers of humanity; that they sacrificed both fortune and life to the emancipation of suffering humanity, while men without principle, Engels, Singer,* and others, multiplied their fortunes by exploiting workmen. . . .† Let us add that as you are men of Socialist principles, you will never propagate exploitation and qualifying wages, that you will not calumniate anyone, especially men, parties, or nations who struggle for liberty; that, on the contrary, you will sustain always and everywhere the efforts of the disinherited to shake off the yoke of oppression and slavery, and that when events call for action and devotion to your principles, you will know how to bear, like others, long years of persecution and imprisonment, and will be even capable of walking to the scaffold as courageously and peacefully as John Huss, Thomas More, Varlin, and Sophie Perovskaya.

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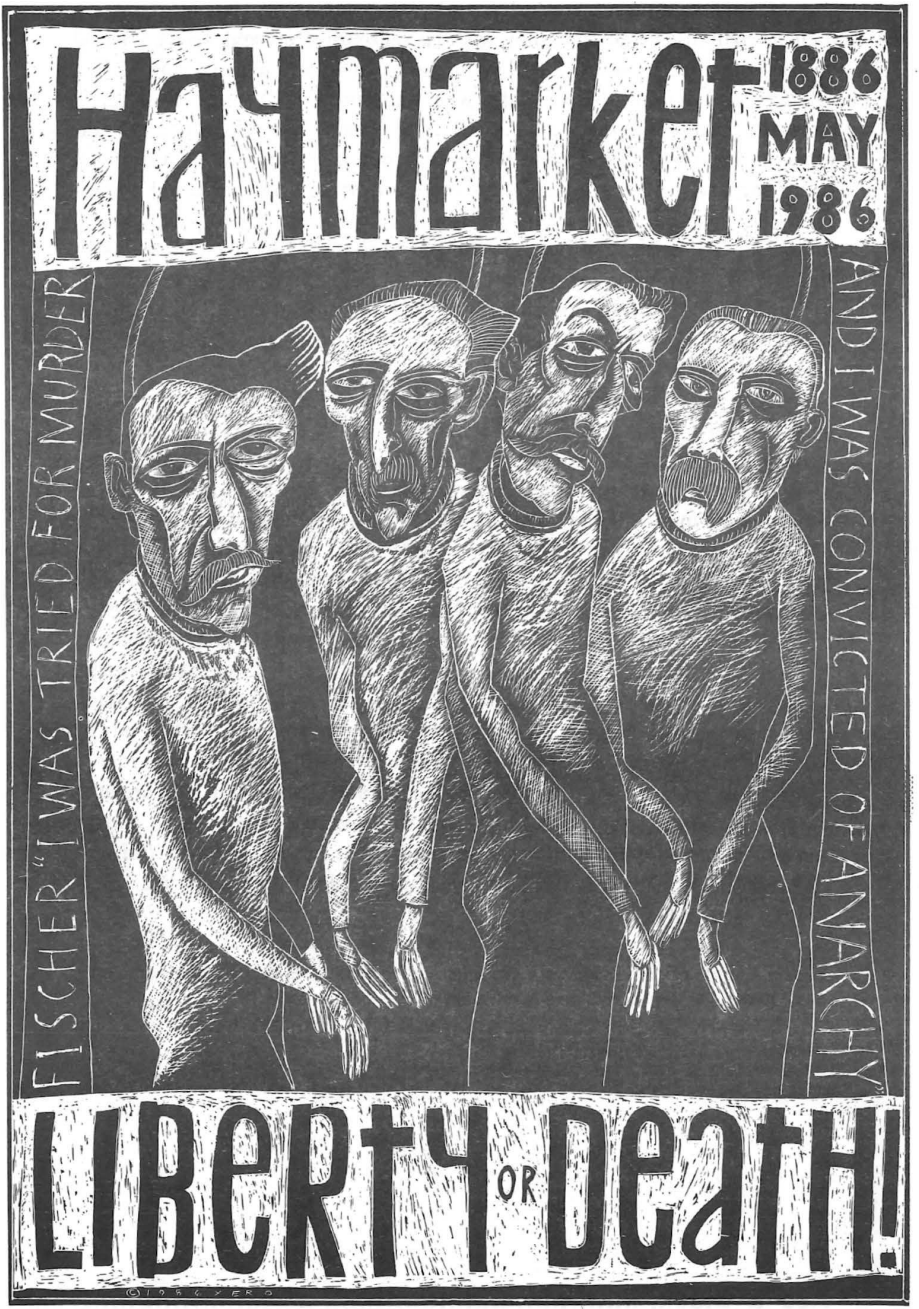
* Among Social-Democratic members of parliament are 7 manufacturers, 2 gentlemen of independent means, 3 traders, etc.

† According to the newspapers, Engels left an enormous fortune, due to his partnership in a Manchester factory.


Haymarket
1886
MAY
1986
FISCHER "I WAS TRIED FOR MURDER
AND I WAS CONVICTED OF ANARCHY"
LIBERTY OR DEATH!

the failure of STATE COMMUNISM

Chapter XII THE CENTRALIST CURSE

Centralism, having become a dogma for the followers of most socialist parties, has not only failed to establish the unity of the workers' movement, desired by all, it has also failed to maintain unity within the party. The more that centralism is adopted as a position in a certain domain the greater its failure. This is clearly illustrated by the state the various communist parties are in. Everywhere there are splits. Even where internal unity is carefully worked out the situation is fragile; as is obvious in Germany where the splits are an integral part of the communist party's repertoire. One would imagine that this sad state of affairs would make honest people think. But, on the contrary, after each failure greater efforts are made to enforce centralism and to tighten discipline to the extent that readers of the Communist of Stuttgart, can read: "A party's member ought to be ready to commit suicide if it is the party's order. In fact any personal will ought to disappear."

A statement whose the madness is more fearful than softening of the brain itself!

Once, in fighting to attain a better church structure, the protestant and catholic theologians tried to outdo one another in metaphysical subtleties and people listened, with respectful fear, to their words. Some rare audacious spirits, who for centuries had clearly seen that the cause of evil does not lie in the structure of the church but in the very existence of the church, were, as a result, faced with general hostility and were unappreciated and slandered by their comtemporaries. Later on came the dispute about the best form of the state. The various political parties play, in the domain of state power, the same role the various theological schools had in the church, and are fundamentally the theologians of the state competing with one another to discover better forms of the state. Once again, how many clearly see that to dispute the form is to misunderstand the real problem: that the deep roots of evil are not in the form but in the very existence

of the state. Finally, the issue is not how we are governed, but the simple FACT THAT WE ARE GOVERNED.

Today it is the idea of centralism, an original invention of the State, that obsesses the spirit. Centralism has become the panacea of our times and just like those who formerly quarrelled about the best forms of the church, those who now quarrel about the best form of the state explain the deficiency and faults of the centralist form as the result of its fortuitous representatives and not as a result of the system itself. For them centralism is the assembling of forces, a concentrated manifestation of the will of the proletariat for a dedermined aim, in other words, the unity of action. This affirmation is, nevertheless, a disgraceful misunderstanding of facts and, in most cases, a conscious lie which is employed to justify and adjudicate in the interests of the party. Centralism has never been a unification of forces, rather it represents the paralysis of force; it is an artificial unity, from above downwards, that attains its ends by uniformity of will and by the elimination of independent initiative; it is the unity of action in a puppet theatre, where each character jumps and dances to the will of the puppeteer. But when the threads break the puppets collapse.

That the State sees in centralism the most perfect form of organization is entirely natural and it is understandable that centralism is the aim of its supporters. In fact, for the State, uniformity of thinking and action is a prerequisite for its own existence. It hates and fights personal initiatives and voluntary gatherings resulting from the internal solidarity of forces. For it, each citizen is only a lifeless cog in a big machine, a cog whose place in the machine is pre-determined; in a word, for it the vital issue is the suppression of personal independence which it tries to achieve by the centralization of power. Its main aim is to shape loyal subjects and to elevate intellectual mediocrity to the status of a principle. No action without command, no decision without it being instilled from above. A dry bureaucracy and soulless imitation of prescribed forms are the inevitable consequences of all centralism.

THE UNITY OF FORCES, INDEPENDENCE OF THOUGHT AND ACTION

Entirely different conditions are necessary if the revolutionary workers' movement is to achieve its purposes. Independent thought, a grasping critique of things, and the personal need for freedom and creative activity are the most important preliminary conditions for its final victory. Therefore, centralism is a reactionary step for the revolutionary workers' movement, a step that threatens its existence and which pushes its goals away into the nebulous distance. For a truly libertarian movement, federalism is the only possible form of organization; far from implying the crumbling of forces and being opposed to united action it is, on the contrary, the unity of forces, but, the unity of forces resulting from the conviction of each member on a voluntary basis, resulting from the free action of each particular group, and resulting from the living solidarity of each community. For the libertarian movement independence of thinking, as well as of action, is the basis of any unifying act. It does not try to attain its aims by the uniformity of summit decrees, but by common planning and voluntary agreement by all who share the same goal.

In Russia, where centralism found its perfect expression in the dictatorship, it strangled the revolution before capitalism, in the end, finally returned. In Germany, where political power collapsed completely in November 1918, the socialist parties never made a serious attempt to build economic life on a new base, they never went beyond the banality of socialization. In Russia, the revolution was buried by the dictatorship, in Germany, by the Constitution. In both cases socialism was grounded on the reef of power politics. In Germany the power politics of the "moderate" social democracy led to Noske's dictatorhip; in Russia the power politics of the radical social democracy led to the dictatorship of Lenin and Trotsky. In both cases the results were the same: the enslavement of the non-propertied class and the triumph of reactionary

Noske's era was the golden age of preventative imprisonment, of a state and of extraordinary military courts. No bourgeois government dared to trample underfoot the rights of the workers in the same way as did the governments of socialist despotism; even the dark times of Bis-

mark's "anti-socialist laws" are pale in comparison to Noske's regime of terror.

The era of Lenin and Trotsky is the golden age of banishment of all true socialists and revolutionaries; the epoch of complete lack of working class rights, of mass executions and the Tcheka. It has carried to the extreme all the horrors of the tsarist system.

These two eras have done all that is humanly possible to mercilessly oppress freedom and to brutally violate human dignity. Both failed despicably to realize true socialist demands.

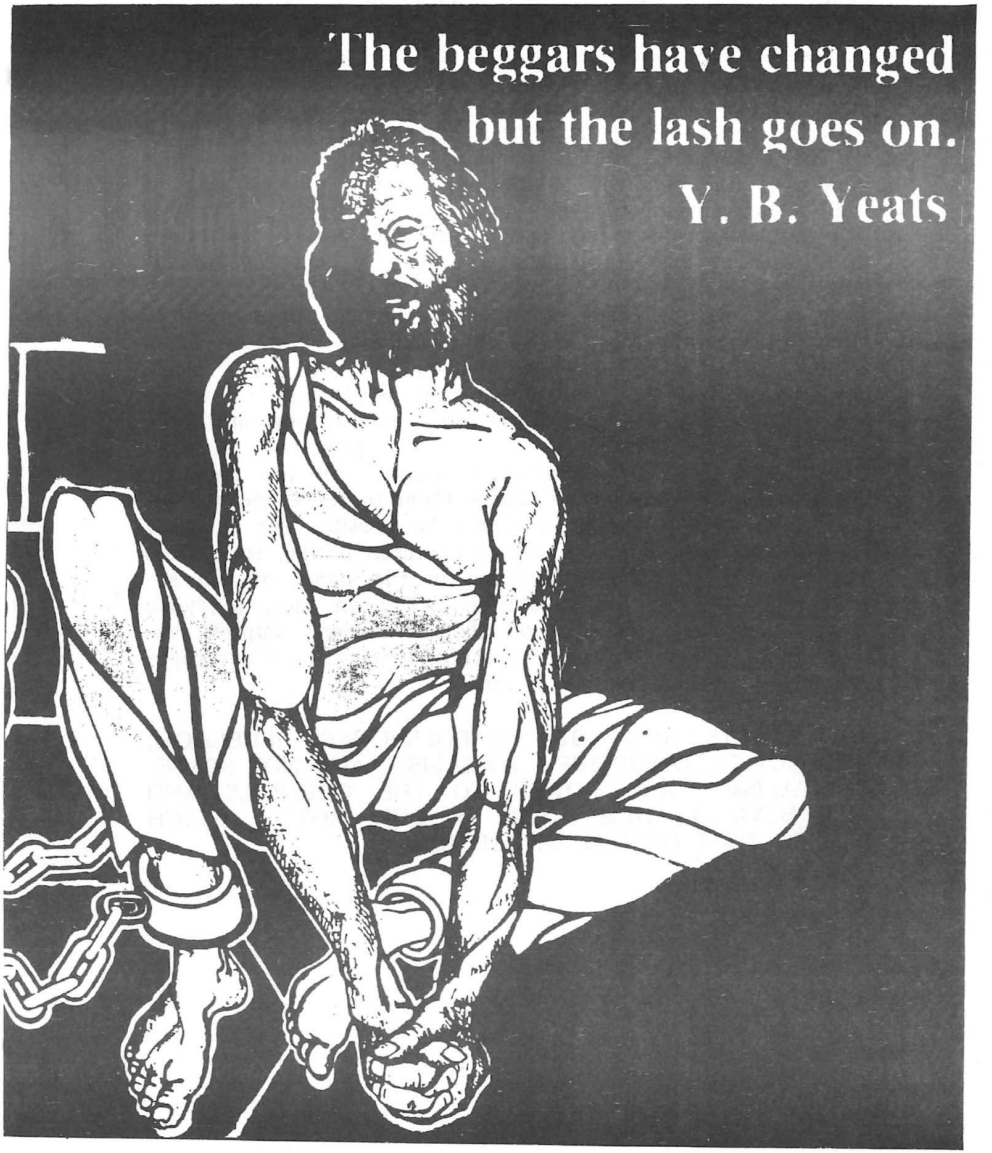
We hope that the working class will draw a lesson from these sad results and that it will finally begin to understand that political parties, radical as they may appear to be, are absolutely incapable of bringing about the reorganization of society in a socialist sense, because the necessary conditions for such a task are absent in them. Any organization in the form of a party rotates around the conquest of power and rests on orders from above. Therefore, it is hostile to any organic growth taking place within the bosom of the people, because it simply cannot understand the creative energies and capacities which lie dormant there. To awaken them and bring them out to blossom is the main concern of socialism, which, however, can only be realized in the bosom of the economic organization of the working class which is called upon to initiate and carry out the socialist thrust in society. It is in the area of economic organization that the workers ought to be prepared for this great task. Internal relations of production, and the distribution of the products they have produced, should be studied, knowledge of the administration of enterprises should be acquired and its significance thoroughly examined in order to grasp the natural relations between industry and agriculture and thus to be able to respond to the demands of a revolutionary situation. This activity, supported by practical experience where that is possible, is the only true socialist education. The great economic association of intellectual and manual workers, not the party, will lead us to a socialist society but, the bridge has to be built now by the masses themselves, the wage slaves of today.

Certainly we know that revolutionaries are not made of rose water and that the owner classes will not by themselves, renounce their privileges. In the day of the victorious revolution the working people should impose their will

on the land owners as well as on the means of production. But, in our opinion, this can only be realized if social capital is taken over and the coercive political apparatus, until now the most solid bulwark of mass exploitation, is demolished. This act, for us, is an act of liberation, a manifestation of social justice, the central and essential point of social revolution which has nothing in common with the purely bourgeois idea of dictatorship.

The proletariat has to disentangle itself from bourgeois ideologies of political revolutions, which always end in the re-occupation of the apparatus of political power. Who possesses power abuses it, for that reason we ought to prevent anyone capturing power, be it a party or individuals, because it always leads to new slavery for the people. That that slavery takes place under the sign of a sceptre, a sickle or a hammer, under the auspice of "Bosche Zaria Njrani" or the "International" does not, in fact, make any big difference. Real liberation is impossible unless the apparatus of power disappears because any monopoly of power is as dangerous as that of property. Only in this way will it be possible to awaken all the dormant energies in the people and enable them to serve the revolution. In this way also it will not be possible for a party, for the simple reason that it has captured power, to oppress all true revolutionary tendencies in the name of the so-called "interest of the revolution" when, in fact, everyone knows that "the interest of the revolution" implies the interest of the party, the interest of a handful of unscrupulous politicians greedy for power.

THE SOVIETS, AND NOT THE BOLSHEVIKS - FREEDOM, AND NOT DICTATORSHIP - SOCIALISM, AND NOT STATE CAPITALISM! ALL POWER TO THE COUNCILS AND NOT BEYOND THEM! THIS IS OUR MOTTO, WHICH IS ALSO THAT OF THE REVOLUTION!


The beggars have changed
but the lash goes on.
Y. B. Yeats